

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 ACDA-19 NSC-07 H-03 IO-14 OMB-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

SAM-01 DODE-00 /141 W

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R 031901Z APR 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4996

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

S E C R E T USNATO 1834

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: STATE-OF-PLAY ON PARA 30 MEASURES

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: A) STATE 64485

B) USNATO 1685

C) USNATO 1745

D) STATE 65431

E) STATE 56461

1. AFTER WEIGHING ALTERNATIVE OF LETTING MBFR WG PAPER ON PARA 30 MEASURES GO FORWARD WITH A U.S. RESERVATION ON MEASURE 6, OR OF SECRET

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INTRODUCING RIGHT AWAY U.S. VIEWS (REF A) ON RECIPROCAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE MEASURE, MISSION OPTED FOR LATTER SOLUTION.

2. FACTORS LEADING TO THIS DECISION WERE:

A. TURKS STILL MAINTAIN A RESERVATION ON PAPER (TEXT REF B),
TOGETHER WITH THEIR OWN AMENDMENTS (REF C);

B. WE AGREE THAT LEAVING LOOPHOLES IN CONCLUSIONS ON MEASURE
6 COULD LEAVE DOOR OPEN FOR FLANKS TO STEER SPC DISCUSSIONS BACK
TO PARA 30 FRAMEWORK IF THEY ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH CONTENT OF A
GENERAL PROVISION.

C. SINCE WASHINGTON BELIEVES MANNER IN WHICH PARAS 29 AND 30
ARE DRAFTED IN REF A TEXT COULD GIVE DIFFICULTY, WE THINK IT PRE-
FERABLE TO REGISTER U.S. POSITION IN WG REPORT RATHER THAN REQUIRE
US TO PRODUCE FURTHER EXPLANATIONS AT A LATER DATE, WHEN WE WILL
WANT TO KEEP FOCUS OF ALLIED DISCUSSIONS ON A POLITICAL SOLUTION
TO FLANK SECURITY PROBLEM.

3. AS A RESULT, U.S. REP STATED AT APRIL 2 MBFR WG MEETING THAT
AFTER CAREFUL STUDY WASHINGTON COULD AGREE TO WG REPORT, WITH
EXCEPTION OF PARA 29 ANALYSIS AND PARA 30-31 CONCLUSIONS ON MEASURE
6. HE ALSO SAID THAT WASHINGTON COULD AGREE TO TURKISH (REF C) AMEND-
MENTS WITH EXCEPTION OF LAST SENTENCE IN PARA 24 AND PHRASING OF
PARA 30 (B)2. IN ORDER TO LAY OUT U.S. VIEWS CLEARLY AND SAVE TIME,
U.S. REP PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE FOR PARA 29, SUBSTANCE OF
WHICH DRAWS FULLY ON REF A. AT REQUEST OF SEVERAL REPS, U.S.
AMENDMENTS BEING TRANSMITTED NATO-WIDE TO CAPITALS. TEXT OF U.S.
REVISIONS FOLLOW:

BEGIN TEXT:

SUBJECT: AMENDMENTS TO THE REVISED TEXT OF THE MBFR WORKING GROUP
REPORT ON PARAGRAPH 30 MEASURES CIRCULATED IN AGV(74)17, AND TO THE
TURKISH AMENDMENTS CIRCULATED IN AGV(74)18

1. SUBSTITUTE THE FOLLOWING TEXT FOR LANGUAGE CURRENTLY APPEARING IN
PARAGRAPHS 28 AND 29 OF AGV(74)17:

"MEASURE 6 IDENTIFIES TWO COMPONENTS: " OTHER STABILIZING MEASURES
"

AND "NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS." WITH RESPECT TO "OTHER STABILIZIN
G
MEASURES," MEASURE 6 IS UNDEFINED. AS SUCH IT MUST EITHER DRAW ON
SECRET

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OTHER MEASURES DISCUSSED IN THIS PAPER, OR ON MOVEMENT CONSTRAINTS
WHICH WOULD GIVE EFFECT TO SUCH MEASURES, AS IDENTIFIED IN PARA 19
ABOVE.

"SINCE MEASURE 6 INTRODUCES THE IDEA OF NON-CIRCUMVENTION IN
RELATION TO STABILIZING MEASURES, IT IS PRESOMABLY TO BE UNDER-
STOOD AS A COMBINATION OF A NON-CIRCUMVENTION AGREEMENT AND
SPECIFIC MOVEMENT CONSTRAINTS. THE IMPLICATIONS OF SUCH A COMBIN-
ATION ARE THAT THE ALLIANCE WOULD ACCEPT AN ARRANGEMENT WHEREBY
WITHDRAWN NATO FORCES, OR AN EQUIVALENT FORCE, WOULD NOT BE
DEPLOYED INTO SPECIFIED LAND TERRITORY OF EUROPE, IN RETURN FOR
A LIKE WARSAW PACT ASSURANCE THAT NEITHER WITHDRAWN NOR ADDITIONAL
WARSAW PACT OR SOVIET FORCES WOULD BE DEPLOYED TO AREAS FACING
THE FLANKS.

"APPLICATION OF SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WOULD HAVE SECURITY IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE REACHING BEYOND THOSE STATED IN THIS REPORT. AS AN ILLUSTRATION, IT COULD INTERFERE WITH THE RANGE OF U.S. AND NATO DEFENSIVE AND POST-MBFR RELOCATION REQUIREMENTS INCLUDING, OF COURSE, LIMITATIONS ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE ACE MOBILE FORCE. RECIPROCAL APPLICATION OF SUCH A MEASURE WOULD THEREFORE INTRODUCE MAJOR DIFFICULTIES FOR NATO IN PROVIDING FOR AN EFFECTIVE OVERALL MILITARY SUPPORT AND DEPLOYMENT CAPABILITY TO ASSURE BOTH FLANK SECURITY AS WELL AS THAT OF THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE. IN A BROADER CONTEXT, INTRODUCTION OF SUCH A COMBINED APPROACH WOULD ENLARGE THE GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, AND THUS CREATE SIGNIFICANT DIFFICULTIES FOR THE ALLIANCE TO RETAIN A CREDIBLE MILITARY BALANCE IN EUROPE. AS A RESULT, THE APPLICATION OF SUCH A MEASURE, ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY, WOULD MILITARILY INTOLERABLE TO NATO (PER PARA 24 ABOVE)

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2. AMEND PARAGRAPH 30 (E) OF AGV(74)17 TO REFLECT THE FOREGOING ANALYSIS.

3. DELETE THE PENULTIMATE SENTENCE IN PARAGRAPH 31 OF AGV(74)17.

4. WITH RESPECT TO THE TURKISH REPRESENTATIVE'S AMENDMENTS CIRCULATED BY SIGNAL AGV(74)18:

(A) RETAIN LAST SENTENCE IN PARAGRAPH 24.

(B) AMEND PARAGRAPH 30 (B) (2) TO READ: "EFFECTS OF RECIPROCAL APPLICATION OF MOVEMENT CONSTRAINTS WOULD BE INTOLERABLE TO NATO (PARA 24)."

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END TEXT

3. DURING BRIEF DISCUSSION, TURKISH REP (GUR) SAID ANKARA WOULD HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY WITH U.S. LANGUAGE, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE U.S. HAD THUS FAR PROVIDED NO ALTERNATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS ON FLANK SECURITY. U.S. REP REMINDED TURKISH REP THAT U.S. WAS INDEED CONCERNED WITH FLANK SECURITY PROBLEM, BUT THAT ITS SOLUTION HAD TO BE FOUND IN A DIFFERENT CONTEXT. AS A RESULT, U.S. WAS PRESENTLY CONSIDERING MATTER WITHIN A POLITICAL OPTIC. TURKISH REP REPLIED THAT ANKARA COULD ONLY REACT TO NEW U.S. LANGUAGE FOR WG PAPER AFTER IT HAD OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW WHATEVER U.S. MIGHT PUT FORWARD. DISCUSSION WILL CONTINUE AT NEXT WG MEETING APRIL 9.

4. COMMENT: OUR VIEW SHARED BY STAFF GROUP, IS THAT TURKS WILL NOT AGREE TO WG PAPER UNTIL U.S. CONTRIBUTION ON FLANK SECURITY IS TABLED. WE THINK WG PAPER HAS SERVED ITS PURPOSE FOR TIME BEING, ESPECIALLY WITH U.S. LANGUAGE FOR MEASURE 6 ON THE RECORD. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE TIME IS RIPE FOR TABLING REF E TEXT, AND PLAN TO DO SO DURING APRIL 8 SPC MEETING. MEANWHILE, WG PAPER WILL NOT GO FORWARD UNTIL ENDORSED BY ALLIES. WE HAVE ALSO REACHED AGREEMENT WITH STAFF GROUP THAT THERE WILL BE NO INTERIM CHAIRMAN'S REPORT. LATTER WOULD SERVE NO PURPOSE OTHER THAN TO TRANSFER DISAGREEMENT ON

ON MEASURE 6 TO SPC, WHICH WE WISH TO AVOID.
RUMSFELD.

SECRET

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ATHENS
BONN
LONDON
THE HAGUE

VIENNA
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH

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